291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a

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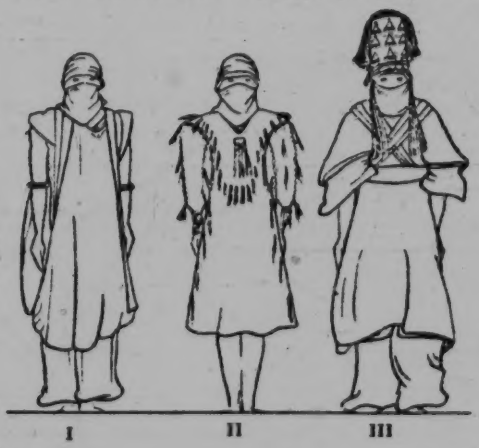

Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.
1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[531] purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to ... disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihaggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with
cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath.
I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all
gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵉⵔⴰⵜⵉⵎⵏ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⵔⴽⴰⴷⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm-bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵀⴱⴻⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵀⴱⴻⵊⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it
also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner
prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and
green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of
the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka," plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela," plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made
in two halves which are encased one in the other
with copper and which are called "iouakane"

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Wan Abu (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264).

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166).

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch.

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ifetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*tapaat*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*ifulan*, sing. *afula*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *absey* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *absey* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *azawa* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141a–b).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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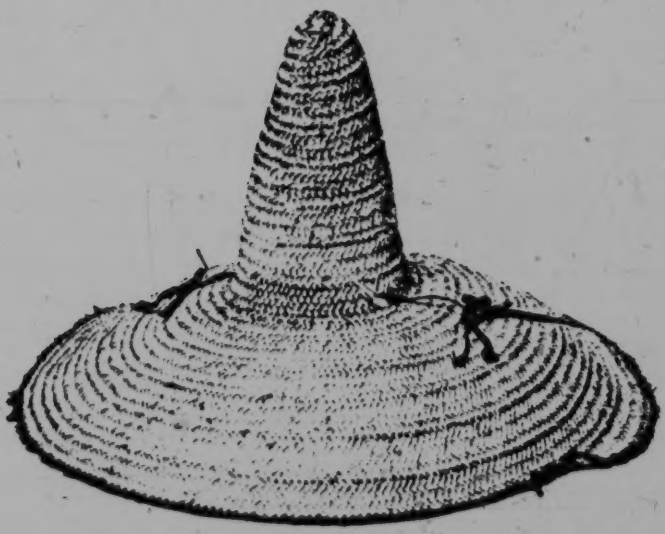

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*téḥé*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḏum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

289 462 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

* [415] [564] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *télé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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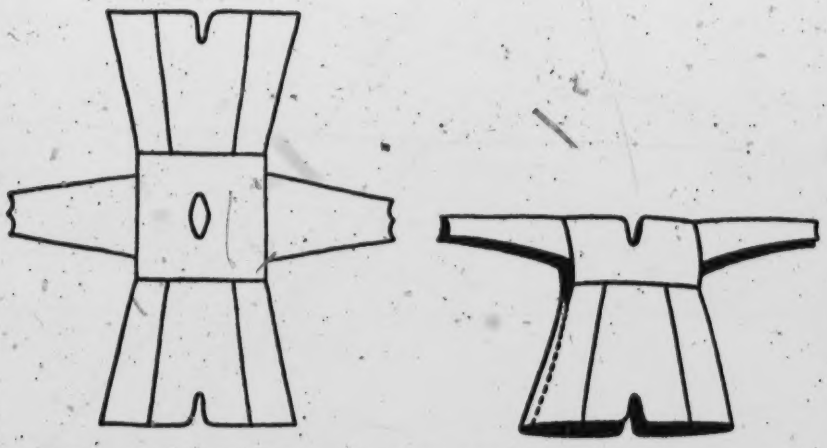

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetik*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ineṛ* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain [237] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Iseḳḳemaren* who use skins of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetik*, and is described as follows:—

291 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine, 294 avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnent ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather [238] shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size, and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Ineṛ* tribe (*Iseḳḳemaren*). [239] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Rali* slaves.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

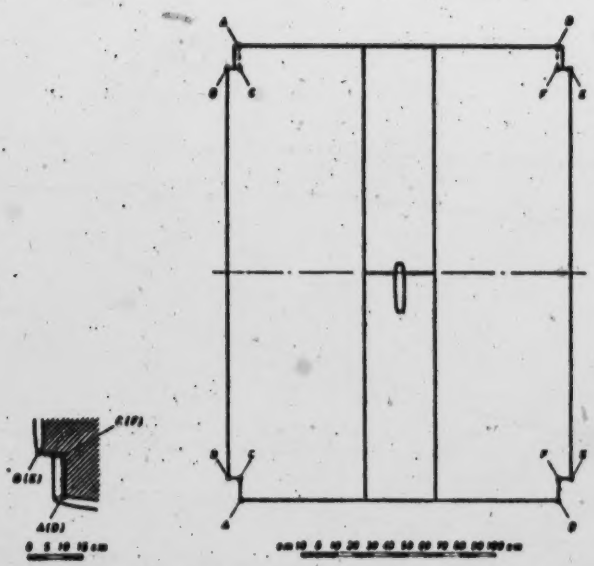

Fig. 233. Cut to illustrate a Tuareg cotton shirt of poncho type. The central part of this shirt is made from two pieces of cotton sewn together at the neck opening; most shirts have a single central cotton piece. The shirt depicted derives from Tasilé-n-Ajjer where a complete woman's dress was bought in 1952. This dress comprises the following pieces which are all made of modern European cotton:—

a. Shirt (*tékamist*) of indigo cotton. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.32 m long. The *Kel Terurit* tribe (cf. illustration).
b. Shirt (*tékamist*) of similar cut but of white cotton. On festive occasions the women frequently wear a white shirt under the indigo-coloured one. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.34 m long. The *Kel Terurit* tribe.
c. Large piece of indigo cotton 192 × 1.15 m which serves as underskirt or petticoat (*aseghes*). Élézi (Ft. Polignac).
d. Large piece of indigo cotton 1.565 × 1.935 m which serves as a kind of shawl covering head, shoulders, and back. It is called *tikest*. Élézi (Ft. Polignac).
e. Headcloth (*ékerhey*) similar to the man's veil (*tagulmust*). It is made of Sudanese indigo cotton measuring 2.14 × 0.25 m. Élézi (Ft. Polignac). (N.M. G. 5488a–e).

It is more than likely that skin shirts of poncho type have also once been used in Ayr, where the Tuareg say that skin was widely used for dress during the 1917-revolt when cotton was scarce.

The cotton shirts worn by adult Tuareg men are of various types and possess individual names. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally wear a sleeve-less shirt called *takerbast*, or a shirt known as *tékamist* which has large sleeves. There are other names for shirts with or without sleeves (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 610 f.), but all shirts are of the same basic cut based on the poncho principle. The poncho cut is very obvious the more so as the shirts are frequently made from one piece of cotton provided

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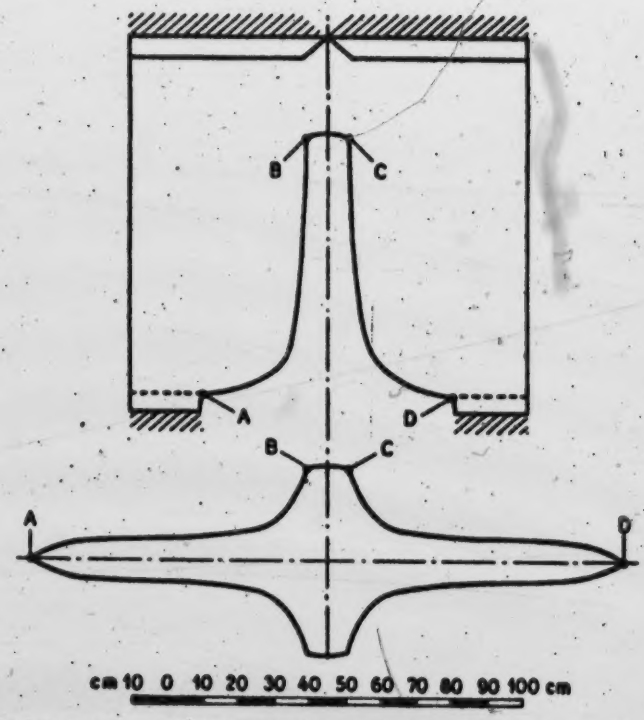

Fig. 236. Cut of Tuareg trousers (*tkerbey*). They are made from two identical pieces of cotton sewn together at the sides and united at the inside with a particular piece of cotton sewn to the legs. The trousers are very wide and are laced around the waist by means of a leather cord called *tamennit*. Dimension: 1.06 m total length, 1.10 m wide at the waist. (Author's collection).

291 Veil, shirt, and trousers constitute the main elements of Tuareg dress. On festive occasions many
292 men also wear a particular type of shoulder belt or bandoleer. This consists of a long strip of coloured cotton (frequently red) wrapped several times around the waist and over the shoulders forming a cross over the chest and over the back. This belt or bandoleer is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tirzemin*, or *iheyderen*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *techerbit*. Rodd ascribes a practical use to this belt, which, he says, the Tuareg wind tightly around their bodies as support for the abdomen on which the motion of the camel imposes great strain during long marches (Rodd 1926a, p. 194). I have myself never seen Tuareg use such belts on long journeys, and have only seen them in use on festive occasions connected with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *aseǧbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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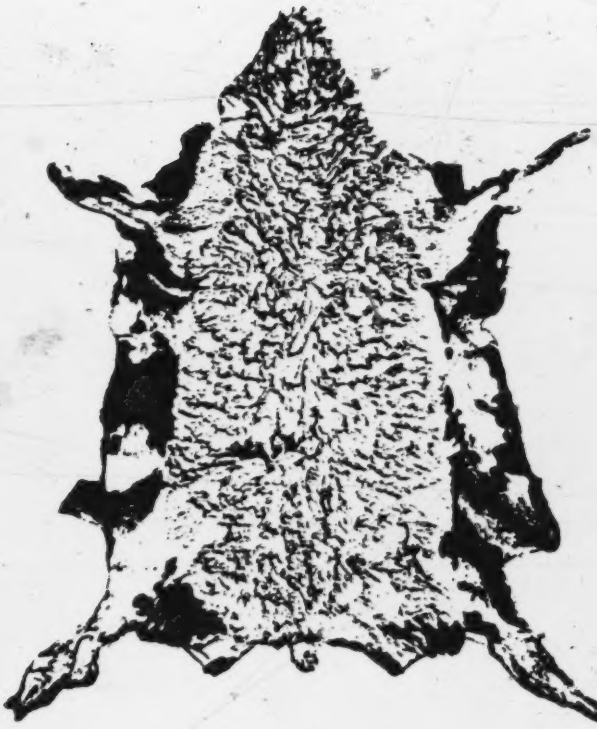

Fig. 240. Sheep-skin (*aḍlim*) to be worn over the back with the hairy side turning inward in cold weather. Dimension at the middle: 1.170 m long. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tahli* tribe

291 Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr (cf. Musée de l'homme, card-index 41.19.847). The 237 skirts mentioned are made from goat-skin, and this is also the case with two other skirts found in the collection of the Paris museum. These latter skirts differ from those mentioned above in that they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 241. Skin mantle made from several pieces of hairy goat-skin sewn together with leather thread. It is known as *tgḍemin* (sing. *tagḍimt*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.99 m without the fringes. (F. M. 281).

are somewhat longer, and provided with two shoulder-straps. The skirts were collected by Lhote in 291
1939 in the region of Ansongo at the Niger, and derive from the *Kel es Suk* Tuareg. According to the card-index similar skirts are also worn by *Bélla* women of the *Dawssahak* and *Echcherifen* (Musée de

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tisteni*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratimen* (sing. *eratim*) which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *silsleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[Text continues on p. 300]

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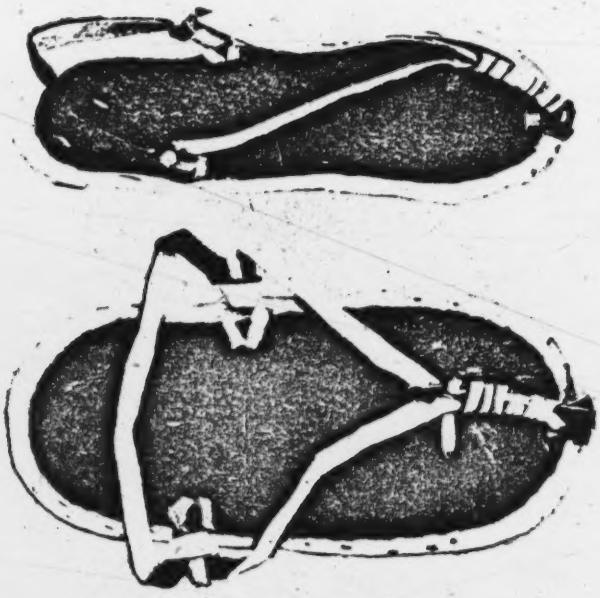

[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akerege*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Ataram* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many
182 Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire
[119] about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'aboûheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Aïr* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Rudames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhadjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abūzag* (pl. *ibuzāgen*) (Ar. *māg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

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292 177 seen them worn by a few Tuareg men in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The fact that they are worn by women during their period of isolation after the husband's death, a custom introduced with Islam, also indicates that these boots are connected with Islamic culture and thus with the Arabs.

[829] The Arabs possess a great religious prestige with the Tuareg, and are responsible for the introduction of many articles of dress among them. Some Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arab *gandura* of kaftan cut as a substitute for their traditional poncho shirt, and many Tuareg nowadays wear the Arab type of headcloth instead of the traditional veil. The burnus (*abernuh*) is also worn by some [171] Northern Tuareg in winter. This garment is widely used by Berbers and Arabs further north in Northern Africa. It is not traditional to the Tuareg who may have adopted it from contact with the Arabs.